

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 20, No. 10.

JULY, 1877.

{ Price 3d. Stamped.
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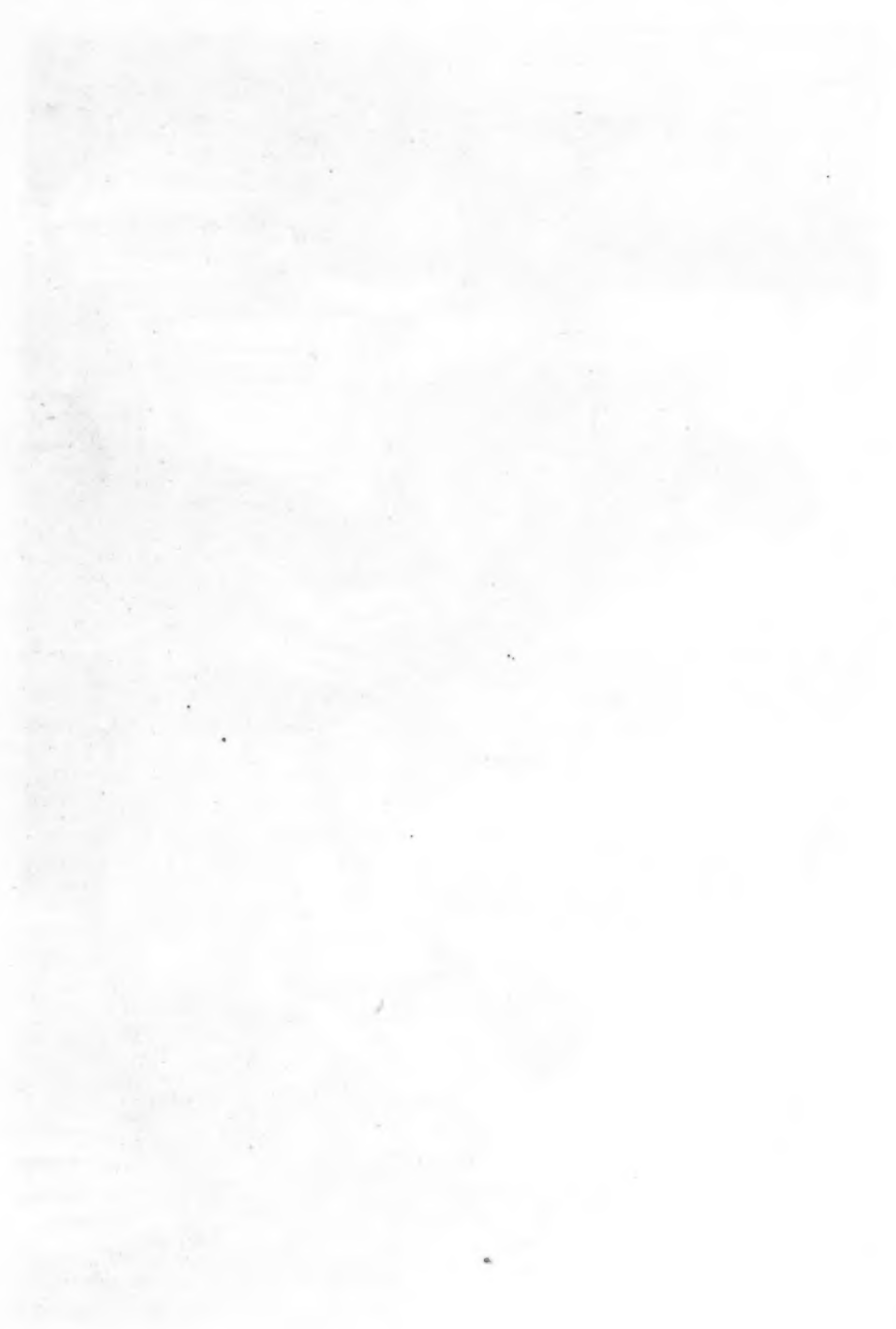


A Negress and her Babe ordered to be Sold at Cairo to pay her Husband's Debts.

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FEMALE SLAVE AND HER BABE ORDERED TO BE SOLD AT CAIRO TO PAY HER MASTER'S DEBTS.

WE published the following information from our correspondent at Cairo in our last issue; but since it explains the illustration at the head of this number, and illustrates the actual course of events in Cairo, we reproduce it without comment:—

"Yesterday the Government Procureur appeared in the Mixed Tribunal here on behalf of a creditor of an Italian bankrupt. It transpired that the bankrupt had been living with a coloured woman, and, in fact, she was in court, with a child in her arms. With regard to this woman, the Government Procureur addressed to the judge some remarks that seemed at first to stagger His Honour; but, recovering his judicial equanimity, he asked the Procureur to formulate his demand in writing, and here is an exact transcript of the document that was handed in:—

"Dans l'affaire entre la Dame la Croix contre Rammasso Chiani, Le Ministère Public a conclu: Que vu que la cession faite par le dit Chiani de certaines effets et bijoux est faite à une négresse qui habite

avec Chiani, et que cette femme était une esclave, et que conséquemment tout ce qu'elle possède appartient à son maître, il faut vendre tous les biens et effets de la dite négresse et tous ces vêtements, et l'esclave même, et l'argent profit de la vente devait être divisé entre les créanciers du dit Chiani."

The order was granted by the Court.

MR. J. C. McCOAN ON SLAVERY IN EGYPT.

MR. J. C. McCOAN has contributed an article, under the title of "Slavery in Egypt," to *Fraser's Magazine* for May. The writer has spent some years in the Levant, and assumes an air of absolute knowledge on the above subject. He begins by asserting that, "On few subjects connected with the East is Western opinion more at fault than that of slavery in the Levant." "Misconceptions and well-meant, but totally misleading, exaggerations of professional philanthropists prevail in the West." These are due to such agencies as the Anti-Slavery Society, which has the honour to be mentioned by name. Mr. McCoan now deigns to correct these errors

and to expose these exaggerations. The British public will doubtless acknowledge its obligations to the writer. We do not care to reply to the sneer intended to be conveyed by such phrases as "professional philanthropists," &c. We have yet to learn that those who devote themselves to the attainment of a hard and glorious task are less entitled to credit than those who only occasionally speak or write concerning it; and whose interests may be connected with the countries at fault. We would inform Mr. McCoan that the Anti-Slavery Society has correspondents in different parts of the Turkish Empire, and more especially in Egypt; men who live in the country itself, and have lived there for years; men who can be relied upon for their information, and who have no interest to serve in giving information.

In the first place we unhesitatingly deny that any "misconceptions" or "misleading exaggerations" have ever been circulated by this Society. The gross injustice and immoralities of slavery in the East are too real, and our anxiety to bring about its total abolition too sincere, to place us under temptation to exaggeration; besides which all our main positions and representations are based upon official information and Blue-books.

Secondly.—But what are these "misconceptions," "misleading exaggerations"? "That slavery in the East is like slavery in the West; as, for example, in the West Indies and in the Southern States of America in past times." Now it will be easy to show by quotations from the article itself that the writer completely justifies the action of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. McCoan maintains that, "barring the owner's right of property in the slave, the two systems have hardly a feature in common, and even this the patriarchal manners, and on not a few points humaner legislation, of the East have beset by limitations which distinguish it widely from the absolute title of the Cuban or American Legree." It is curious to hear that an Empire where law is prostituted to personal objects; where offices, even the highest, are obtained through intrigue; where subject

populations are ground down to poverty by arbitrary exactions and taxations, is the very paradise for slaves. The milder character of the Turks, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, is now seen and recognised by the civilised world as capable of all manner of crimes and cruelties in spite of humaner laws and patriarchal system. No doubt the East differs from the West in its manners, and customs, and crimes. The Legree of the West may flog his slave to death; the Legree of the East would never give himself so much trouble, but leisurely dispose—by sale through an agent, or by a poisoned cup of coffee, or by drowning—of any slave that incurs his anger. The issue is the same—murder. It is suggestive to note how lightly the owner's right to property in a slave is regarded. Of course slavery is an abomination which cannot be defended by any Englishman; but look how kindly he is treated and how contented a slave seems with his lot!

Thus we are invited to shut our eyes to the gross wickedness of slavery, because—not through considerations of humanity, but in accordance with his personal habits—the slave is treated mildly. But even this mildness is only an accident, for in the absence of large sugar or other agricultural or manufacturing interests in the East, the temptation to harsh treatment does not exist. But given the temptation, would there be any difference between the treatment of slaves in the East and West? The cruelties without the temptations of the West, suggest what the issue would be.

It is forgotten that no amount of mildness can atone for the first cruel wrong, the reduction of a man to a chattel. This is done in Egypt as in the West. Mr. McCoan admits so much. It is significant that similar things were said concerning slavery in the West Indies and America.

As the article proceeds, the writer is constrained to allow that there is yet another feature which characterises slavery in the East and West, namely: the butchery and massacres involved in procuring slaves. "It is different, however, with the more numerous classes of black slaves, the victims of organised kidnapping and petty

tribal wars, as cruel as any ever waged on the West Coast ; and the sufferings of these it is, during their capture until they reach the Nile, which condemn even the mild domestic servitude that must be supplied at this price as absolutely as the brutal exaggeration of it which fifty years ago cursed our own colonies and the United States." We need only add to Mr. McCoan's statement that the chief agents which organise these "kidnappings and petty tribal wars" are subjects of the Khedive and live within his dominions, and sometimes are nominated to official positions.

The sufferings of the Middle Passage may be paralleled by the sufferings of the land routes.

But one other feature remains to be mentioned which completes the terrible analogy, viz. : the mortality of the slaves in domestic servitude in Egypt. It was the death-rate among the blacks which first roused the indignation of England against slavery in her colonies, and on this subject we may quote, from our writer, the following significant passage :—"Still, although the conditions of servitude in Egypt are thus comparatively easy, the death-rate among the black slaves especially, is, and always has been, higher than in any other class of the population. In the old days of plague they were its first victims, and they still suffer from pulmonary diseases to an extent unknown among natives and resident Europeans. *Few black slaves indeed reach middle age, ten or a dozen years generally sufficing to sweep away a generation, at the end of which the whole have to be replaced.*"

"Black slave children, too, as well as white, born in the country, mostly die early, and consequently contribute little or nothing to maintain the class. In this double fact lies the vitality of the trade that recruits the service in spite of its legal abolition some years ago."

These three features clearly belong to all slavery, alike in the East and in the West, and it is mere sentimental tenderness to vested interests, and indifference to great human interests, to seek to cover the essential cruelties of both systems under the plea of mild treatment. Laws in Mohammedan countries have often proved to be not worth the paper on which they are written. We should be delighted to believe in the sincerity of the Khedive in regard to the abolition of slavery. His

power may be very limited, but not to the extent suggested. One fact will illustrate this : "The total number of slaves sold within the walls of the ex-Moutfetish's palace was 110 whites and 152 blacks, and the price realised was nearly £13,000. The remainder of the blacks were sent to a house behind the palace of Monsour Pasha and sold there : a place always, more or less, full of slaves, and where the carriages of the Pashas may be seen to stop any day." It is absurd to abolish public sales of slaves when at Cairo itself the Khedive can sell the above slaves and pocket their price, and when Circassian, or Nubian, or negro slaves, can be bought by any who will in Cairo itself.

EXTRACTS FROM DIARY NOTES OF AN EXCURSION TO TAM- BALA'S.

BY H. B. COTTERILL, ESQ.

OUR readers will be interested in reading the following brief extracts from our friend Mr. Cotterill's diary. His endeavours to open up a legitimate commerce will not fail to gain the sympathy of all well-wishers of Africa. It is necessary, in the first instance, to ascertain what are the actual difficulties and how they may be overcome ; and we shall, in due time, receive from Mr. Cotterill his ideas and experiences on the subject. Meanwhile the following extracts from his diary of a particular excursion will show how the slave-trade destroys the resources of a country, and presents the greatest hindrances to legitimate trade.

"Wednesday, February 28th.—Started with three canoes, taking S. and my four men. Reached Chirombo's and engaged another canoe and eight bearers. As I was waiting for food a gang of some thirty or forty slaves, with two or three armed drivers, passed by. There were several women and small children among them. I could have easily overpowered the slavers and liberated the whole gang, and I actually took my revolver and stepped forward to do so ; but, great as the temptation was, I was cold-blooded enough to allow my judgment to prevail, lest the result should lead to more evil than such an act could remove. My conscience reproaches me now ; I cannot tell whether I acted wisely

in restraining myself. Poor creatures ! I trust I shall not be to blame for their future miseries. How I wish I had done it ! Or rather, how I long for the time when we shall be both justified and strong enough to adopt active measures. How little those wretched people knew that within ten miles there was a place where, if they could have reached it, they would have been free from their murderers. One poor fellow was a mere skeleton, with bad hip disease ; he could scarcely totter along, and can never reach his destination. They were from Chipeta's and bound for Neponda's. We now see the real character of this double villain. The people of Chirombo's report many gangs by this route. Famine is reported at Chipeta's in consequence of wars. This chief is selling his people for salt—a plateful for a victim.

"Tuesday, March 6th.—Reached gardens and small wretched village of Kantunda's—the people conquered by the Ajawa about eight years ago. Obtained a guide to Tambala's, or rather his son Mlenga's, whose village is now in sight, perched on the top of a high conical hill. As we cross the summit of a slope, a gang of slaves is seen coming down the opposite incline. When they saw us they left the path and hid in the long grass, so that I cannot tell exactly their numbers, but I think there were about forty or fifty. These also were for Mponda's, from Chipeta's. I asked if Mponda's son was anywhere in the country, and the man pointed to a bed of grass, where the wretched creature was hiding. No wonder he was ashamed to show his face. He brought a tusk over to our station not long ago, and was most lavish in his assurances that he and his father had given up slaving. That fellow Wakotani shall never more be employed by me ; he is hand and glove with Mponda. After all that he has seen of the English (he was actually at school in Bombay) he is to be blamed a thousandfold more than Mponda himself. I fear Mr. Waller will have to alter his opinion of him. It will be difficult to know how to deal with Mponda, the 'friend of the English,' and the 'chief who has given up slaving at our advice, after this. I sent him a pretty sharp mes-

sage by both his gangs of slaves, telling him that the English didn't like liars.

"Friday, 9th.—Start 6.30. Pass another dead slave lying almost across the path, with his head hanging over a deep sluice—a revolting sight, and one that made me vow eternal vengeance against these murderers."

SLAVERY IN NEPĀL.

"THE kingdom of Nepāl is a small independent State situated on the north-eastern frontier of Hindustan. It is a strip of country about five hundred miles long and a hundred and thirty broad, lying between the snowy range of the Himalaya on the north, Sikliun on the east, and the provinces of British India on the south and west." Dr. Daniel Wright, for several years resident surgeon at Kathmandha, the capital of Nepāl, gives in a history of Nepāl, translated from native documents, &c., a brief account of the country and people. The natives are as hostile as the Chinese to the advance of "Western ideas." Even travellers are only allowed to keep in a certain beaten track, and then with a guard on all their movements. The English Resident is always under surveillance, and as official intercourse is reduced to a minimum the life of a Resident must be intolerably dull and wearisome. Dr. Wright may be relied upon for all his statements. Amongst these we quote the following on Slavery in Nepāl :—

"Slavery is one of the institutions of Nepāl. Every person of any means has several slaves in his household, and the wealthy have generally a great number of both sexes. It is said that there are from twenty to thirty thousand slaves in the country. Most of these have been born slaves ; but free men and women, with all their families, may be sold into slavery, as a punishment for certain crimes, such as incest, and some offences against caste. In a few of the wealthier households the female slaves are not allowed to leave the house ; but in general they enjoy a great deal of freedom in this respect, and the

morals of the female slaves are very loose in consequence. They are generally employed in domestic work, wood cutting, grass cutting, and similar labour. The price of slaves ranges—for females from 150 to 200 rupees, and for males from 100 to 150 rupees. They are usually well treated, and on the whole seem quite contented and happy. Should a slave have a child by her master, she can claim her freedom.”—(*Introd.* ch. 3, p. 45.)

It would seem that slavery is an institution amongst the peoples of Central Asia; but, of course, the slaves “are unusually well treated, and on the whole seem quite contented and happy.” Similar remarks were often made of the slaves in the Southern States of America; similar things are said concerning slaves in Egypt and in Turkey, and in Zanzibar. And yet, in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, Mr. J. C. McCoan, in an article on “Slavery in Egypt,” indignantly denies any likeness between the slavery of Egypt and of America—although in both, the slaves were “unusually well treated, and, on the whole, seem quite contented and happy.” We should like to know a good deal more of slavery in Nepal? Is there any *importation of slaves*?

There are from 20,000 to 30,000 slaves, most of whom have been born slaves, and this amongst a population of about half a million only. How is this number kept up? In Egypt and Turkey the death-rate would, in ten years, rid those happy regions of all their slaves. The institution would cease to be possible if there were no new supply. How is the “domestic institution” in Nepal kept up? The hints given of social life in Nepal suggest a condition of things very like what used to be in the West Indies and in America. It is, no doubt, best for the friends of freedom to know the worst—to know how tremendous is the work yet to be done. Yet it does fill the soul with sadness at the actual condition of our world—while it appeals for renewed exertion and a strong faith, in the certainty of final victory. All men must be free!

INCIDENTS OF “DOMESTIC SLAVERY” ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

A CORRESPONDENT on board H.M.S. *Avon*, writes to the *Times*, under date St. Helena, May 21st, as follows:—

“Towards the end of March we steamed up the Congo to a place about thirty miles or so from the mouth, called Ponto or Puerto do Lenha, meaning, in Portuguese, ‘port of the wood.’ It is a trading place erected on piles. It contains an English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese factory, and is a most unhealthy spot on the right bank of the river. A very tragic occurrence is said to have happened here some time about the beginning of April. It appears that the slaves (for domestic slavery still flourishes on the coast) belonging to a certain trader at this place made a fetish—by which is meant casting a spell, or giving the evil eye, or something connected with the black art, and which has great influence over the superstitious people. The fetish man, with about thirty blacks, made the fetish that the trader should die, and in order that the fetish or charm should not fail in its effect they set fire to some of the outhouses, hoping to burn down the factory and kill the trader, who is a Portuguese. He, however, discovered the conspiracy, and it is charged that, with the assistance of other traders, he fastened the negroes in chains in gangs of from five to ten, and took them out in the river in a boat and drowned about thirty. I do not wish to say much about this terrible accusation, as it is at present under investigation by the British Consul at St. Paul de Loanda; but I must state that so far as I am myself concerned I have been repeatedly shocked and horrified by the cruel way in which the negroes are treated by the traders in whose employment they are, either as servants or slaves. Every trader of consequence has usually from twenty to thirty of these negroes, called Krooboys or Kroomans, who are principally natives of Cabenda or Cape Palmas, south of Sierra Leone.”

We may also quote the following from the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* and

Record, as suggesting how much yet remains to be done on the West Coast :—

"We must add a short extract from Mr. Schapira's report, illustrating the cruelty of the Mohammedan slave-owners

"I cannot avoid mentioning to you the cruel slave traffic there. Foulahs are the principal traders, and they treat their slaves most cruelly.

"On one occasion, one of my carriers came to me, telling, in his broken English, "Massa, come gib pity, a woman and pikin go perish." I followed, and soon saw before me a most miserable object. Several young boys in heavy chains and sticks, but the most cruel of all was the sight of a young woman tied hand and feet, with a little baby on her back, both of them half-starved. The child was crying, but the poor mother had no power to help it. Tears came to my eyes, and I began to beg the cruel man not to tie her so tight, but all my entreaties were in vain; he had one reply: he paid for her and he could do what he pleased. I could not leave the spot without giving that poor creature some relief, but my endeavours were of no use. I then asked him to let me redeem her, but he said that he was going with the slaves to Fula, and he would make much profit in carrying her there. He may get for her six cows. I then asked the woman how she came into such cruel hands, and her story is as follows.

"She went with her mother to visit some of her relations, for she is free-born, and her father is head man of a certain place, Bycollie by name. On their return, they had to cross a river, and were met by some men. Her mother remarked to her that one of those men resembled her son who was dead. The man, on hearing this, told her that she is a witch, and wishes to bring death on him. This was only a pretence to catch them. They were soon caught, and she was sold to this man. He treats her very badly, and does not give them enough to eat. She managed to escape one morning, but was frightened by a leopard and began to hallo, and was discovered. Her sufferings since that time are unbearable. If they would have pity on the little baby only!

"I could not stand it any longer, and even the landlord's heart was moved. He took my part and asked the man to let me return the woman. The monster could not refuse any longer, but put a very heavy price, viz., £8 10s., that is, £7 for the woman and £1 10s. for the child. I told him that I will not pay so much, and it lasted from two till seven p.m. before I brought him down to £5 10s. My interpreter took up her bonds, and the woman nearly lost her senses on being told that she was free. She prostrated herself before me, and I was obliged to leave the room. The difficulty was, what is to be done with her? To let her go she may be sold again. So I left her with Conditto till we will find a place for her in town, and then make inquiry about her parents. She says that she has another child at home. We have found already a woman who is willing to keep her for some time, but I must provide her with cloths. This I promised, and the Almighty Father will show me how to proceed further with that poor woman."—*Sherbro' Mission*.

HISTORY OF A LABOUR VESSEL.

"OUR old friend, the *Marion Rennie*, is once more, we understand, to resume her position amongst the fast-sailing crafts of our group. Her owner, Mr. M'Farlane, is rapidly proceeding with the necessary repairs, and as the injuries she received on the reef a few months back are of a slight nature, the cost of the outlay for repairs will be trivial. In the course of a month or six weeks this vessel will be again consigned to the deep; and as she is built of blue gum, and her leaky faults have been searched out and repaired, she will be as sound and staunch as when first off the stocks. She is to be entirely recoppered, and will be entered for the labour trade, in which traffic the *Marion Rennie*, some years back, acted so prominent a part. From a needle to an anchor everything has a history; so has this vessel, and a remarkable one too.

"Three times in her career has she been in the hands of the savages; twice has she lost both masters and crew, they having fallen victims to wholesale massacres, which deluged her decks with their blood. On the

occasion of one seizure by the Solomon natives, at the Island of Rubiana, when all hands were murdered, this schooner was bartered away by the natives for a small quantity of tobacco; such are the singular vicissitudes even in the life of a ship."—*Fiji Times*, Nov. 29, 1876.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER.

A Press despatch from Auckland states that five years ago a number of Sandwich Islanders were imported into New Zealand as "labour" for flax mills, subject to be returned to their homes at the expiration of three years. The flax industry having declined, the islanders scattered over the province to obtain employment where they could. The relatives of these lads at the Sandwich Islands meanwhile became greatly excited and incensed at their non-return, according to agreement, and the *Conflict*, one of the gunboats engaged in watching the labour traffic, having touched at the group, became aware of the grievance and the probability that some ship's crew would probably be sacrificed at the first opportunity to appease their wrath. In consequence she went on to Auckland to investigate the matter. The detective branch of the police force was called into requisition, and after some trouble the whole of the lads were secured and shipped on board the gunboat, which has since sailed for the Islands in order to restore them to their friends.—*The Times*, Feb. 14, 1877.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society was held on June 1st, in the Cannon Street-Hotel. According to our usual custom we give a full Report of the Meeting, in order that our numerous readers, both at home and abroad, may be made acquainted with the exact position and work of the Society up to the close of the year 1876, and may learn how urgent are its claims, and how vast is the work still to be done ere all men shall enjoy their natural birthright of freedom. HENRY PEASE, Esq., of Darlington, took the chair, and was supported by a full platform of the friends and advocates of the great object sought by the Anti-Slavery

Society. There was also a good attendance, although, owing mainly to the lateness of the date of meeting; not so large as it was last year. The meeting began about seven o'clock.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will ask the Secretary to present the Report as the best commencement of this meeting.

The Rev. A. BUZACOTT: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, my first duty is to read two letters which will explain the absence of some distinguished gentlemen from the platform this evening. The first is from a very noted traveller, Colonel J. N. Grant, who, you may remember, was associated with David Speke in African travel.

"Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 26th inst., asking me to speak on the latter portion of resolution 2, at the Anti-Slavery Meeting on the 1st June, has been forwarded. Every possible effort should be made to prevent the African races from being subjugated by a Mohammedan prince like that of Egypt; for if we in England do not protest against annexation of the equatorial regions of Central Africa by Egypt, a splendid region of fertility will be made desolate and the seeds of vice will take years to be eradicated. The native races in the far interior are in reality superior in many respects to those Egyptian banditti who would attempt their subjection. I therefore trust that your meeting, on the 1st of June will give strong expression on this great question, and am,

"Yours faithfully,

"J. N. GRANT.

"Balmoral Hotel, Edinburgh,

"Tuesday."

The second is from The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,—(cheers)—in which he states:—"Dear Sir, I think your invitation and that of the Committee a great honour; but I am concerned to say that I must be absent from London at the date you name, and probably a week afterwards. Yours very faithfully, W. E. Gladstone."

I have many other letters which I need not read—one from Mark Stuart, Esq., M.P., who had promised to be with us to-night, but a telegram has summoned him away to Scotland, to his great regret. Also, I am sorry to say, the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., is prevented from being with us this

evening, but we heard this only at the last moment.

It becomes now, Sir, my business to obey the voice of the Committee, and present to this meeting the report of what has been done during the year 1876; and if I present it in a somewhat crude form you will understand that those are the conditions of free speech as distinguished from those of a written report.

It seems almost like going back into antediluvian times to call your attention to the existence of a Fugitive Slave Commission. At our last meeting, in May, 1876, the Government had lately appointed a Fugitive Slave Commission, and we had fears that the subject had by that means been shelved. Happily, however, for our cause, that commission went very heartily into the subject, and I will not say without suggestions from 27, New Broad Street. Certain questions were sent abroad, to the representatives of Her Majesty's Government, which required them to state facts such as they knew and could find out in connection with slavery and the slave-trade; and there is therefore embodied in that report of the Fugitive Slave Commission, a mass of evidence which we could not obtain in any other way, and which, I am bound to tell you, corroborates nearly every statement the Committee put forward with regard to slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

Many of those statements have been received with jeers and something like the usual talk about the fanatical philanthropists, but the Blue-book substantiates every such statement.

TREATY FOR ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN TUNIS.

I may say also that we are happy to be able to report that a treaty was concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the State of Tunis for the abolition of the slave-trade in that country.

CUBA:—REPORT OF CHINESE COMMISSION.

It is very curious that an attempt to raise a new loan in Spain for purposes in Cuba should have been almost contemporary with the issue of the Report of a Chinese Commission. The Chinese Government sent a Commission to Cuba to inquire into the condition of Chinese coolies in that island. That report came out, as I have

said, about the time when it was proposed to have a new loan for Cuba; and the report itself contained the most frightful stories of the treatment of the Chinese in Cuba itself, so that the attempt to obtain a loan was perfectly paralysed by our publication of the facts and incidents of that Commission's report. (Hear, hear.)

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

I may refer with very great pleasure to the conduct of Seyyid Burghash, Sultan of Zanzibar. Whoever has been backward in the attempt to do away with slavery, the Sultan of Zanzibar has shown himself to be earnest and brave all through, losing by his fidelity to treaty a considerable portion of his revenue. He has issued a proclamation that the export of slaves from the Continent, alike to Zanzibar and Pemba, should be discontinued. Dr. Kirk, our noble representative—(oh would that we had Dr. Kirks in all parts of the world where slavery exists!)—Dr. Kirk very zealously sustained the Sultan, and for a while this trade was checked. It seemed to disappear. I am grieved to tell you that the last advices from the East Coast of Africa tell of the old sad story. Dr. Kirk has never had the means of dealing with the iniquitous traffic with any permanent effect; and the slave-trade is reviving again to an enormous degree on the East Coast of Africa, to the Island of Pemba, and along the coast as far as the southern regions of Abyssinia.

TRANSPORT OF SLAVES BY MAIL STEAMERS.

Your Committee also took action in regard to the conveyance of slaves by mail steamers from one part of the world to another. It excited our indignation to find that English mail steamers were actually allowing themselves to be employed in conveying slaves from the northern portion of Brazil to the southern portion of Brazil; (hear, hear,) and we pleaded with the Government. Lord Derby took very energetic action in the matter, and we are happy to say that the practice was stopped. Other transport of slaves has become very notorious in the Red Sea, and we have also made representations to the Foreign Office in relation to them.

THE JEDDAH FUGITIVE SLAVE.

Some of you will remember, a little while ago, a story being current in the news-

papers, under the name of the "Fugitive Slave of Jeddah." It appeared that a slave, who had been recently brought into the country, and sold at Jeddah, ran away from his owner, and sought refuge on board H.M. ship *Fawn*. He was handed over by the Admiral to the Acting-Consul, and the Acting-Consul handed him over to the Government, until at last the wretched slave probably came back to his former owner. The story itself was one of peculiar—shall I say?—atrocious. In the first place there was no law requiring a fugitive slave recently imported to be surrendered in Turkey. In the next place there was no party asking for this surrender. The surrender was gratuitous, and that was the action of an English Admiral. We protested against this needless cruelty when it occurred, and the Government have now the report of the Acting-Consul in their possession, and have not yet told of any action being taken upon it.

Then with regard to the slave-trade itself, I am requested by the Committee to give you in a few words something like an idea of this trade. If we may commence at the lower portion of Africa, the slave-trade, from the Mozambique to Madagascar, &c., continues at the rate of some 10,000 a year, in spite of British cruisers and Portuguese indignation at our supposition that the Portuguese have anything to do with it.

Mr. Young will give you his idea of it on Lake Nyassa. The Rev. Horace Waller will supplement his statement in regard to other parts of Africa. Dr. Mullens will also give you some information, and therefore I need not detain you further on this part of my subject.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

What I may dwell upon is this, that the slave-trade has greatly increased through Egypt, in Egypt and through the Red Sea to the Turkish Empire. Denied by our officials, denied by our representatives abroad, the Anti-Slavery Society and its correspondents were almost alone in maintaining that the traffic existed. Gradually, however, those denials have become fainter and fainter, until only a few weeks ago Mr. Bourke admitted in his place in Parliament that slaves could be bought in any part of Egypt, and that even in Cairo itself slaves could be easily obtained. Now I do hope our

Government, having made this confession, will join with you and Englishmen generally in doing their utmost to suppress the slave-trade in the Red Sea as well as in and through Egypt.

We have pressed earnestly on the Government the necessity of making a treaty with Egypt and Turkey. Curiously enough we have had treaties with little petty countries and with little petty chiefs on the coast of Arabia, Persia, and Africa, and no treaties with the greatest sinners in the whole transactions—namely, Turkey and Egypt—and I hope a remedy for that great defect will now be supplied.

Lord Derby informs us that a treaty has been prepared and that it only awaits the signature of the Khedive, and then they will be able to take energetic action upon it. But, alas! this Eastern Question has come to the front again, and nothing signed by the Khedive is of any authority until it is signed by the Sultan, and so the whole question is postponed for some time longer. I may remind you that we have been able to publish a statement showing that slaves have been bought and sold in Cairo. In spite of the denial of the Egyptian Government that slaves are being bought and sold by officials of the Egyptian and Turkish Government, those officials are reaping a considerable amount of their income from this illicit traffic.

THE CONFERENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Then, during the early part of this Eastern Question, when it was proposed to hold a Conference of the Great Powers at Constantinople, it was deemed a grand opportunity to present addresses to all the Powers represented at that Conference. Those addresses were duly prepared and forwarded. One was received by our own Government as one of the Powers represented, and others were sent through the Foreign Office to the other five Powers. We wish to express, as a Committee, our sense of indebtedness to Lord Derby and the Foreign Office for forwarding these addresses to the Great Powers.

Then I may remind you, generally, of the facts concerning slavery in Africa, on the East Coast and in Turkey. These facts are all attested by such men as Commander Cameron, as Mr. Young (whom we are glad to see on the platform to-night)—(cheers)—and Baron de Cosson, and many

others. The evidence, ladies and gentlemen, is beyond all refutation. Deny it those may who are interested in the Government of Egypt or the Government of Turkey, but the iniquity goes on just the same, and we are assured something like half-a-million of men, women, and children are being sacrificed every year to this inhuman demand. When a few families in Bulgaria were treated, as we understood then, with unheard of atrocity, all England rose in protest, but when 500,000 are annually sacrificed to this slave traffic it seems somehow to elude the minds of Englishmen; they seem to live in comparative ease while this tremendous slaughter goes on, and I therefore press upon you to-night to do all that in you lies to make this ten thousand times greater atrocity duly protested against throughout our freedom-loving country.

THANKS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I have further to express the thanks of the Committee to our brave and trustworthy correspondents in foreign lands. Their names I cannot tell you, nor do we tell any one; but you may believe me when I say they are thoroughly reliable. We usually have information four, if not five weeks before the Government. We very often bring representations to the Government of which the Government at that time has but little, if any, information; and though these statements may be denied at first, yet in three or four months they are usually verified by the correspondents of the Press and official records. In the next place we have to express our obligations to members of Parliament who (happily without reference to ourselves as the inciting cause) very kindly take up cases and make representations in Parliament and obtain answers and official documents which could not be otherwise obtained.

THE COOLIE QUESTION.

Another part of our work has reference to the coolies. I need not dwell long upon these. We have to do with the coolies in Jamaica because they come in contact with those recently liberated, and Jamaica appeals to your Committee as (under the present form of Government) the only parties to plead for them with our Colonial Office. Nothing could be more courteous than Lord Carnarvon's reception of your

representatives; and from the tone of his last reply we have reason to believe that the coolie question in Jamaica will soon become a matter of past history.

We have also to do with the labour traffic in Queensland, and not a little cruelty has been perpetrated on English ground in relation to the labour traffic there. That, however, the local government have taken in hand, and we hope that in the course of a short time—a few years at the most—the iniquities of that traffic will be entirely removed. We leave to our friends of the Aborigines Society all concern for the coolies in the Mauritius, also in the Fijis, and in some other parts of the world. We have only to do with these.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have only to remind you that this thing—slavery—exists throughout the greater part of the world. It is co-extensive with Mohammedanism. It is to be found in some forms among the central nations of Asia. Terrible on the coast of Africa, it is found in the interior of Africa as an internal slave traffic. In milder forms it is found even in China. A Chinese missionary informed me only a little while ago that there was a trade in girls in China itself; so that the area of this hateful iniquity is very large indeed, and demands our utmost effort in order to meet it and do away with it. We do not plead for the employment of physical force, but we do plead that our English Government should represent the English feeling on this question, and use all its moral energy and potent influence in order to do away with this trade in countries like Egypt, like Turkey, like those of Central Asia, and gradually, if you please, even in China itself. Africa, long desolated, may surely now hope that the insensate demand for human blood and labour shall cease. Africa is being desolated, is going back into darkness and chaos; and it is time for us to declare that this "lost continent" shall be found and saved.

I do not know that I need detain you any longer, but should anything further arise, the Chairman, I am quite sure, will permit an answer to any question. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—Very fresh in the memory of many of you, I have no doubt, is the exceedingly interesting meeting held in this hall about twelve months ago, when we had the pleasure of

the company of Sir Bartle Frere, and other gentlemen, who interested us to the full; and no doubt the attendance of many here this evening is a representation that on that occasion their long-felt interest in this great cause was stimulated by the desire again to show themselves on the side which humanity demands of them.

After the very able introduction of the Secretary, and the announcement of the gentlemen who are to address you, my duties indeed may be very light, and my appearance before you ought to be very short.

I need scarcely call to your remembrance that slavery is almost coeval with the history of man; and that if we pass over thousands of years, and come down to our own Continent of Europe, we find almost as a rule that no nation which has had the power of colonization, and by force of arms obtained power over its fellow-men, has lost the opportunity to enslave a portion of mankind, as they suppose for their own benefit, on that short-sighted policy. So that, although of wars we hear greatly too much as time passes on, and for a time there is a calm, it would seem as if all times were for slavery—even as death is a fact for all times.

You cannot turn your eye to the Continent of Europe, I think, but what you will find these remarks pretty nearly correct; and if you remember that Continent which has been briefly referred to by the Secretary—"the lost continent"—the great Continent of Africa—and some of you I have no doubt have seen that very telling map, and that very telling book, which was published by one of the most earnest advocates of the Anti-Slavery cause, who I am sorry to say is not well enough to be with us this evening, but whose name you will allow me to mention—Joseph Cooper—(Cheers); and I hope the members of the Committee will excuse me, for I feel as if to some extent the mantle of Wilberforce and Clarkson had descended upon Cooper. He appears to live with a mind alive with sympathy for his fellow-creatures in distress, and withal so comparatively unexcitable, so calmly looking at cause and effect, never taking his eye off any point which he thinks ought to be brought before the public notice. I would that there were amongst us many more Joseph Coopers! I am quite

sure it is not his wish that his name should be dwelt upon, but it is a pleasure to be allowed to name it in your presence. (Hear, hear.)

I touch very briefly upon the fact of the effect of the holding of slaves on the Christian countries. You have some here, perhaps not very many, but a considerable number who had no small share in the grand result of the efforts, made chiefly by the Anti-Slavery Society, to rid England from the stain of the possession of slaves, and to destroy slavery, as a part of the British Constitution.

Then we come to a more recent period, in which that great country, the United States, by a grand, conclusive effort, at length threw off that abomination which obtained so long in the Southern States. But it is worthy of remark that these efforts have cost the countries a great deal. Probably England did very wisely, and I know not any anti-slavery man who doubts it—when it consented to an enormous sacrifice of 20,000,000 of money, rather than have the country involved in war, or do that which it was said would be an immense injustice—to deprive the owners of their slaves after they had been legally entitled to possess them. But it cannot fail to strike you that in both these cases the sacrifice was enormous—that it was a sacrifice made by Christian countries which, by degrees, were worked upon upon principle, and the principle by one means or another bore its fruit and they ridded themselves of the stain.

But, ladies and gentlemen, in the question which will be more ably brought before you than I can attempt to do, you will see we have to deal with countries where we do not find that same pivot upon which we can move. There does not appear to be the same principle which Christianity and its principles engender one, in those Mohammedan countries to which our attention, this evening, probably, is more especially turned; and although the Secretary has stated most clearly that this Society does not rely upon the employment of gun-boats or forcible means, he could very well have said, and better than I can, that, notwithstanding that, the position which it has pleased Providence that England should occupy, and the profession which we make of love to mankind at large can never rid us of a very serious responsi-

bility in using the liberty which we possess as a community amongst ourselves, and the power we possess as a nation, to endeavour as far as possible that the thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-creatures who are yearly dragged to destruction and to death shall be diminished as rapidly as possible; in the number of those who are separated from their homes and deprived of all of their reasonable rights; and that we, ladies and gentlemen, rejoice in thanking Providence for the good things which we possess, shall with them rejoicing deeply and yet more deeply, feel our responsibility in this matter, so that it shall not find expression in words but in works, and so come to that issue which I do not think I can express better than by using what you say is a very trite old saying, "Where Britain's power is felt mankind may feel her mercy too!" (Cheers). I will not detain you any further. The Treasurer's report will now be presented.

The Rev. J. O. WHITEHOUSE: In the unavoidable absence of the Treasurer, I have been requested to present the accounts for the past year, which were passed by the Committee this afternoon.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

(See page 275.)

There is one item to which I ask the attention of this meeting, the amount of subscriptions given to this Society for its work—"Subscriptions £153 13s. 8d." Does not the Society deserve more than this? (Hear, hear).

The CHAIRMAN: I have very much pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, in asking Edmund Young, Esq., of the Royal Navy to be so good as to speak to the first resolution.

Mr. YOUNG: I will read this that has been put into my hands, first—the first resolution—then I will offer a few remarks.

"That the Report now presented be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the following gentlemen constitute the officers and committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number." (See page 276.)

Mr. YOUNG: Ladies and gentlemen,—I will confine myself to a few remarks about the country I am well acquainted with, viz., Africa. I was with Dr. Livingstone for two years and more; afterwards I com-

manded the Livingstone Search Expedition; and lately I have planted a mission on the shores of Lake Nyassa, during which time I have had the opportunity of seeing something of the slave-trade, and I may say that there it is carried out in these regions—both in Egyptain and Portuguese possessions—in all its enormities. It has been stated in Portugal—it has been printed in England (here I see it is advertised in some of the papers) that my statements about the vile deeds done out there in that part of Africa were untrue; but I say the statements I have made are quite correct (hear, hear) but not quite strong enough. I have had a letter only this week from Nyassa, dated 5th March, from a doctor, on his way up from the coast to Lake Nyassa, stating that while lying sick in a Portuguese hut a gang of slaves was brought into the very courtyard, as it were, of the hut where he was lying. They were brought in starving to the Portuguese possessions. Now I have no doubt they make very good laws in Portugal. but they are not carried out in Africa (hear, hear), therefore I contradict their statements. They said that I have stated untruths. I will give you an instance of slavery.

I was one day waiting on the banks of the Upper Shiré, and being short of native food I sent one of my party (one of my own negroes that I took from the river Zambesi) up to the native village to buy food. While he was there a slave girl made her appearance, arriving in the night. My negro, knowing that England did not believe in slavery, got to this girl and said, "The English White Chief will be here tomorrow and if you can only get to him, and better still if you can only call out to him from the bank, he will be sure to give you your freedom." The next day, or two days afterwards, I steamed in alongside the bank in a little steam launch that I took out, and the girl made her way to the ship and clung to the gunwale; I told her at first to go away. I did not know what she was there for, and then this native told me that she was a girl who had made her escape from a gang of Portuguese slaves. I inquired into her case, and now I am going to tell you the way in which I deal with African chiefs out there, and I leave it to you to say whether I was right or wrong in the way I dealt with them. I knew nothing

about Slave Circulars, nothing at all. (Cheers). I felt myself to be an Englishman. (Renewed cheers.) I had about 600 natives around me, with their chief. I said, "Is this girl's statement correct or not"? Not a word of denial had they to say, and the old chief slunk away. I sent for him to come back. I said to the girl, "I believe your statement is true, and I give you your freedom." She did not want any handing on board, but jumped over the gunwale and down into the stokehole. I had her up and gave her a full dress, the largest she ever had—two yards of calico. I took her up to the mission station, and left her there as cook to the mission party, and a good girl she was. She had been sold for two yards of calico. Not only did I do this, but I made the chief apologise, and told him that if he did the like again I would punish him severely the next time I came that road. That is my method of dealing with an African chief, and I may tell you that a dozen resolute Englishmen—I do not believe in fighting—but if a dozen resolute Englishmen were in a boat only to show themselves there, it would put an end to the traffic there; and there is a great traffic. Livingstone states, and he is confirmed by Dr. Kirk, that 20,000 slaves a few years ago, annually reached the coast, from the Nyassa district; and I verily believe that the small steamer sent out by the Free Church of Scotland did more in the way of stopping the slave-trade than all the British men-of-war on the coast. That vessel was sent out last year, and if they had only given me permission I would have taken the five dhows that crossed that lake; but as it is, the *Livingstonia* already, by the last accounts, has become quite a city of refuge for the slaves. They were coming in there by tens and twenties, and I maintain that that is worth doing.

Now there were the Arab slaves. Probably some of us present will remember a party of men that Dr. Livingstone brought down, called Makololo. He brought them and settled them on the Lower Shiré, and they claimed to be English subjects. They do not believe in slaves, and do not believe in slavery, but the Portuguese chiefs are very fond of stealing their people. About six months ago I was ill with fever, waiting a fresh party coming up. I had been there nearly two months, and was almost dead.

I happened to go outside the door of my hut one day—and this, I always say, did not happen by chance, because I do not believe in chance in these matters (hear, hear); just as I happened to step outside the door I saw a skeleton walk past,—yes, a skeleton; there was no flesh on her, and even the very skin that was on her bones the flies were eating away. I had that woman washed and fed, and after she had had a sleep, I inquired into her case, and I had some of the Makololo there, and they said it was a common case. That girl had made her escape from a Portuguese slave gang, and had wandered about in the bush for a whole month living on grass seeds, and it was not by chance that she came to the door of my hut and so saved her life. The Portuguese say they do not deal in slaves there, and do not believe in the slave-trade; but what can they expect if they send out to Africa the refuse of the land, if they make it a penal settlement, and send their convicts there, and set them adrift on these poor wretches? And that is the case. The Makololo have now stockaded their villages, and I gave them directions how to do it, and am not ashamed of it—merely to enable them to protect themselves from the depredations of the slave gangs from Zana and Taté.

With reference to the slave-trade on Lake Nyassa, I must inform you that I sailed round it, and I saw many lovely islands in Lake Nyassa, and I saw plenty of rocks there teeming with natives; they had made their escape there, and some of them were starving to death. They made their escape from the slave-dealers without a vestige of clothing, and I maintain, as I said before, that with a few resolute Englishmen on Lake Nyassa it would not require any fighting to put an end to the whole traffic, and we could have cities of refuge all round that vast inland sea.

Now I will tell you what the Mafité do there. Most of us remember the Mafité that Livingstone speaks of. They are a strong powerful tribe, and have been the curse of the land. I went to meet 200 warriors, and two of their chiefs, and made a treaty between them and the Makololo. I tell you what they do. It is a common practice for them to make a raid on the neighbouring tribes—the weaker tribes—to surround the villages, and to capture

every inhabitant; they will not let one escape. In the early morning they will seize and yoke together all the young men and women fit for slavery, and kill every other person on the spot. On going round Lake Nyassa we saw thousands of their skeletons. Now, I think after my telling you this, you will not be surprised at my great wish to put down slavery, and it was one of my chief reasons to expose this trade, and try to put it down, that at the risk of my life I went to Africa this last time. I will not detain you with any further remarks, but will give you some idea of the letters that have come from Lake Nyassa. They are all to the same effect—that slave-gangs are crossing. There are five slave-vessels on Lake Nyassa, as I told you before, and they could easily be stopped by one small vessel, and if we only show ourselves in force there, there will be no necessity for fighting. I have never fought. I have saved ten thousand, I may say, indirectly, and have never fired a shot, or offered to fire one, at an African yet (hear, hear), and there is no necessity to do so. The Portuguese maintain, and publish it in the English papers here, that I used force—yes, force. I had only to hold up my hand in Africa, and I could get a thousand natives at my call, even in the Portuguese possessions, and I could go there with my walking-stick, whilst the Portuguese dare not go there with an armed force. I hope the time will soon come when this question will be taken up, and when we shall have British jurisdiction on Lake Nyassa. (Cheers.)

SAMUEL BOWLY, Esq., in seconding the resolution, said: Mr. Chairman and friends, I have great pleasure in seconding that nomination of the Committee; and more than that, I feel exceedingly grateful to those friends who are willing to be on that Committee. The upholding of this organisation I consider to be of vast importance. It is a moral power which some of us are hardly aware of, and it seems to me very much like what they call the staff of a regiment. Now I repudiate war, as you know, most thoroughly, but I do not object to make use of it as a parable. We want to keep up the staff of the army, so that when there is any occasion we may be called together, and I believe there is as strong a moral sentiment in this country now against

slavery as there ever was. I seem long ago to have put off my armour in this cause, because we thought, as far as our own country was concerned, we had done our work; but at the call of this staff I am ready any day to buckle on my armour again and do battle with this terrible evil. (Cheers.) It was once my privilege to speak for four hours and twenty minutes at one time against this abominable system, but I hope it will not be more than as many minutes to-night, because I do not pretend to go into the details of this question. It must be left to such friends as we have just heard, to bring these details before you. Nobody can, however, for a moment doubt that slavery exists to a most fearful extent; and, so far as we can exercise any influence, it is not only our duty but our great privilege to do so. It was not because these slaves were merely British subjects that we fought against slavery; it was because the weak and oppressed had nobody to take up their cause. I am glad to say the English sentiment ever has been, and I believe ever will be, in favour of protecting the weak against the strong. (Hear, hear.)

Well, then, as to any regulation of this labour I have great doubts whether it can ever be regulated. ("Never.") What we want is to do away with all these restrictions upon labour, and let labour be perfectly free. I have no faith in the regulation of the sale of strong drinks. I think we want to get rid of it, and so I think with regard to slavery; that instead of regulating this slave labour—a sort of forced labour—the best way is to get rid of it, and the only safe way.

Then with regard to the present condition of society in every country, we see that though there is still war—and sorry we are that it is prevailing—yet we cannot help but see that there is an advance in moral power; that as education prevails and as civilisation extends, there is an influence which can be exercised upon other countries without the exercise of physical force at all. Look at our newspapers now in France, obliged to be clipped. We see these newspapers find their way into all parts; into every country almost; and have no doubt that if we on any occasion are called out by our friends of this Committee we shall, through the medium of our Government, exercise a very powerful moral influence. In my interviews, which have only been seldom,

with the heads of the Government, whether they are Conservative or Liberal, they have generally received us with great courtesy, and generally have thanked us for bringing before them any opportunity of upholding the great principles of freedom on behalf of the British Government. I think therefore we may take courage, and that, by and by, the time will come when this iniquity will be done away with. We have to wait long for some of these things, but God in His goodness and mercy may bring these things to pass before we are aware. We little thought that that iniquity in America would be swept away as soon as it was. How thankful we may be that that great country is now delivered, and I hope it will be for the future on the side of freedom. May that be the case with every country in Europe! Let us go on, dear friends, in confidence that God will bless our efforts, and that some of us, some of you at any rate who are younger than myself, will live to see the day when the world will be freed from this gross iniquity. I feel not only a pleasure in seconding the nomination of the Committee, but very grateful to them for their services. We must all deeply sympathise with our dear friend, Joseph Cooper; and when he is gone, if it shall please God to take him, may some one else be raised up to take his place. He has a warm and generous heart, and kindly feelings; he has worked with my dear friend Joseph Sturge for so many years—with whom I worked also—and I feel, as I speak upon this subject a little of the old fire rising up in one's heart; and feel as though I could go out again and speak on behalf of these oppressed and down-trodden people. May we go on, taking courage that the God of all mercy will bless our labours ultimately to the freeing of all the world from this gross iniquity. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The Rev. Dr. KENNEDY: Knowing as I do, Mr. Chairman, of the resolutions which are to follow, and the speakers who are to address you on those resolutions, I feel it would be utterly unbecoming on my part to occupy time with remarks either on the Report to which we have listened with pleasure, or on the general subject of slavery. I am not quite so old, I presume, as the respected friend who has just addressed you; but I am old enough to re-

member the old battles (for even the men of peace can use parabolic language), and defend the use of parabolic language, and speak of battles. I am old enough to remember these battles. I am old enough to have taken part in youthful enthusiasm in the fight, in the days even before the decree went forth that slavery should cease in the British dominions. I am old enough to remember the great gathering in 1840, when so many noble men and women, from all parts of the world, assembled in the Freemasons' Hall, to enter their protest against slavery. I travelled 600 miles to be present on that occasion; and as one stands on an anti-slavery platform he feels, as Mr. Bowly feels, something of the old fire rising within him and impelling him to speak. One wonders, and one cannot help wondering, that at this time of day it should be said that the slave-trade costs Africa alone half a million of either lives or the freedom of persons in a single year. The statement seems incredible. In our young days we thought we had only to fight with slavery in the West Indies, and as to the other parts of the world we seemed to know but little of what the condition of things was. We did not expect that after we had crushed the terrible evil in our own empire we should find ourselves only beginning the work, but, Sir, I feel with Mr. Bowly, that we do not know how soon some great event or events may take place which will speed the work we have in view. I am not prepared to say, with many good friends, that I am absolutely a man of peace in the sense in which some of our friends are; and really Sir, when I hear of 500,000 men, women, and children on that African continent either destroyed in life or in freedom by this accursed system—this terrible wrong—I am not prepared to say, Sir, that I could lift up my hand against Mr. Young and others firing shots, which Mr. Young says he has never fired, if by firing shots we could bring an end to this terrible evil—(cheers)—and, Sir, I do find that you and others of your honoured community, to whom we owe so much in this anti-slavery cause, you can rejoice with us when the Providence of God uses means which you would not choose to use of your own deliberate purpose—when the Providence of God, as in America, crushes slavery, ultimately, perhaps, in the last resource, through the moral influence which awoke the anti-slavery feel-

ing in America, but immediately by the arms of the Northern States—the Northern States now represented so nobly and honourably in England by the presence of its late President—(cheers). Sir, I should like to have seen General Grant on this platform to-night, and you Sir, peace man though you be, I feel very sure you would give him the right hand of English and Christian fellowship; and thank God that General Grant was the means of doing what he was the means of doing—putting an end to that terrible curse as seen in the Southern States of America, even though it was by the force of arms. But, Sir, I will not venture further except to say how very heartily I sympathise with the feelings of Mr. Bowly as to our indebtedness to the Committee which works a Society of this sort. We are very apt to speak lightly of committee-men, but it is only committee-men who know the care and trouble and toil that committee-men have, and those outside committees ought to feel thankful that there are men who will spend their days and nights, and give their thought and time to a service of this sort. I believe it is the work of God. May God speed the work and by His Providence, —whether by terrible things in judgment or in other way—may He bring an end to that over which we all mourn! I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: The second resolution I beg to call upon Mr. Horace Waller to move.

The Rev. HORACE WALLER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to move the second resolution, as follows: "That, inasmuch as, on the most moderate estimate by competent authorities, not less than 500,000 natives are annually sacrificed to the African slave-trade, this meeting would urge upon the Government and people of these realms the need of making the most strenuous efforts to put an end to the slave-traffic throughout the world; would direct attention to the enormous extent to which it is carried on in Egypt, and through the Red Sea to the Ottoman countries; and, in view of the efforts lately made by the ruler of Egypt to subjugate the regions of Abyssinia and the Upper Nile, this meeting would also earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government to use every legitimate means

to prevent the subjugation of these countries to Mohammedan rule, inasmuch as it would be inevitably followed by an extension of the slave-trade, and at the same time place further difficulties in the way of its extinction."

Sir,—In speaking to this resolution, I feel that I shall be on safe ground if I merely allude to those facts which are day by day coming before us, and which bear so very pertinently upon it; for I am thankful to say that the old evil of ignorance on these subjects is no longer an evil. We are flooded with intelligence from all parts of Africa from day to day, and it is our fault if we do not find ourselves armed with arguments, both in the presence of our own consciences and when we find our way into the Council Chambers of Her Majesty's Government.

Now, with regard to this extraordinary estimate of a loss of 500,000 lives in Africa, I always feel, even at the risk of repetition, that it is necessary to take it as an absolute fact.

When Dr. Livingstone, in whose vicinity, and with whom, I had the great privilege of working in Africa, first said to me that he believed for every slave that arrived on the Coast ten lives were lost, I almost felt that he might be quite on the bounds of exaggeration; but I lived there to see that in that, as in every other statement, he was well within the truth.

Now, unfortunately this slave-trade is going on as briskly almost as it has been during the last twenty years. How it is to be stopped is a matter of detail. It will not be done in a day, in a year, or perhaps during our lifetime; but we must say this, and we must say it with most thankful hearts, that I do not believe the most enthusiastic amongst us, in the days when first we were in Africa, could ever have believed that in ten years such a mighty blow would have been struck at the slave-trade as has been struck already. Thank God the right men have been raised up. Livingstone himself has done a work for which the world must always be thankful, and bless his memory; but after him were trained men like my friend Mr. Young, on my right, like our noble champion of freedom, Dr Kirk, on the Coast, and so forth; and it is owing to the experience of those days that so much has been brought about.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to

stimulate your desire to see slavery abolished, by a most extraordinary fact which has lately come to our aid, and it is this. People say, "Well, but if you are not to get slaves and ivory from Africa to what use are you going to turn the country which, in your enthusiasm, you say is a rich country? Where are the proofs of it?" Well, I will give you one item. Dr. Kirk has sent me this piece of intelligence lately, that whereas ten years ago I do not suppose a piece of india-rubber the size of this inkstand ever came from the East Coast of Africa, last year, from the Zanzibar dominions alone, £100,000 worth of india-rubber was sent. (Cheers.) I say this ought to stimulate us, because we should see that if we can stop the slave-trade in Africa immediately, you begin to open up industries—you begin to unite bonds of commerce with this country which will be almost like electrical conductors, carrying sparks of life into the very depths of that continent. Therefore, speaking of it from the lowest point of view, I would say how very much it is to be desired that this drainage of the life-blood of the country should cease in order that the people may realise the riches of their own continent, and pour forth these riches for the benefit of the whole civilised world. I am delighted to add that Dr. Kirk has recently been down at Kelwa, the chief exporting port of East Africa, and he tells me that, armed with a proclamation which the Sultan of Zanzibar recently placed in his hand to work out with his own energy, he already found that chiefs in the interior were seeing it to be more to their purpose to retain their people in the country to make them collect india-rubber than to send them away to be sold for what they would fetch. I look on this as really the first turn of the tide towards good things. (Hear, hear.)

Now, in speaking of Egypt and of Turkey, I think my task perhaps will almost be a superfluous one. It has been said that we learn our geography now-a-days by terrible wars. I think that few people knew much about the Crimea before the Crimean War took place. I certainly did not—and I think that when this wretched war is over between Russia and Turkey we shall know more of the real abominations that go on under the Mohammedan faith than we ever knew before. (Cheers.) It will

have this effect, that we shall look with more scrutinising eyes into the social state of these countries, and then I do not fear the result; for I am perfectly certain it is only ignorance with regard to the desperate cruelties which are exercised by Mohammedans on these unfortunate races that hitherto has stayed our hands. (Hear, hear.) The Khedive of Egypt, it is said of him, and said by a statesman of our own country, that he is such a clever man that he can twist any Cabinet minister of his country round his little finger—it would not take much trouble on his part to make him twist the whole Cabinet round. Well, perhaps that is holding one's own countrymen very cheap. I won't endorse that statement at all; but I do say this, that it will require the greatest vigilance on the part of this Society, and on the part of the English public, to keep Her Majesty's Government thoroughly alive to the evils which are being worked by Egypt in Africa. We have been willing and we have been patient with Turkey. We have given her a long opportunity for reform, and we seem to see that she has not profited by that. Whether we are Conservatives, or whether we are Liberals, that is our universal verdict. (Hear, hear.) And with Egypt we are also tolerant. We see a ruler there who certainly is a man of mark, and of a powerful mind, who has in some respects set about great reforms, and he has made great promises, more especially with reference to the slave-trade. He has enlisted the services of one British officer, who stands almost alone, so noble is he in all his aspirations and in all his deeds, wherever the oppressed are to be helped. I speak of my friend Colonel Gordon. (Hear, hear.) But, ladies and gentlemen, Colonel Gordon has only very recently gone back armed with power from the Khedive to put a stop to the slave-trade in the Soudan. For myself I would say, Wait a little to see how Colonel Gordon can deal with this. In the meantime it is only right to say, and it must be said, that since he left his seat of operations to come to this country—whether by the connivance of the Khedive or not—certain it is that the slave-trade has made a most gigantic leap forward during the absence of Colonel Gordon.

It is only recently that two English travellers—one of them a young nobleman—reported to Dr. Kirk that they had returned

from a place called Zeila, a recent acquisition of the Egyptian Government somewhat to the south of Aden. They saw when they were there hundreds and thousands of slaves were being repeatedly taken from this Egyptian town to the Turkish town of Macolo on the Arabian coast.

I have it from letters that have arrived as recently as yesterday from Zanzibar that during Colonel Gordon's absence the Egyptian troops have come down to the north end of Tanganyika, and have been making slaves in all directions. I say, then, that Colonel Gordon, when he gets there, will find his work doubled and trebled. Whether he will be equal to carrying it out or not I cannot say; whether he will break down under the stress of climate and disease no one can say; or whether in time the Egyptian ruler shall find that Colonel Gordon has done quite enough for his purpose, this I cannot say. I do not wish to be uncharitable; I do not wish to prejudge matters, but I would only ask you to centre your attention most vigilantly on what is going on in Egypt at the present moment. Suffice it to say that Mohammedan powers, as we find them in both Turkey and Egypt, are the greatest curses to the black races at the present moment, the most abominable scourge that it is possible for us to conceive. (Hear, hear.) You know there must be a limit even in the expression of horrors, and it would be perfectly impossible for Mr. Young or myself to detail to you, ladies and gentlemen, what meets the eye at every turn on the slave path. It is too dreadful to think of, and all I can say is that the more travellers—whether they be sportsmen, whether they be missionaries, I care not who they are—the more travellers that go into Africa the greater will be the supply of the intelligence that we get connected with this slave-trade. I do think, and I must mention it before I sit down, that there is one subject that we as a Society, and we as having a public interest in this question, should press upon our Government at once, and I bring it forward the more cheerfully because I do believe this, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, that it is impossible for any Government—be it Conservative or Liberal—to be lukewarm upon this subject. I do believe that Lord Derby will do all that he sees it possible to be done in the present complicated and

entangled state of things; and I do think it will fortify him very much if from time to time he can find a strong representative deputation or force appearing before him, laying aside all party question whether of politics or religion, to say This is a matter of humanity, a matter which cries to the British Crown for justice (hear, hear); and what I would say is this, as a clever physician first of all, when he enters a patient's room, sets to work to diagnose the disease, and then find out the spot at which it is making its most virulent progress, so do men like Livingstone, like my friend Mr. Young, when they go into a slavery-haunted district, set to work to find out the very centre part of the inflammation in order that there they may deal with it.

Now this question of putting a steamer upon Lake Nyassa, which must always be connected with the name of my excellent friend Mr. Young—(cheers)—this question of putting a steamer upon Lake Nyassa was one that Livingstone centred all his fortune and all his efforts upon fourteen years ago. He spent—perhaps I am at liberty now that the grave has closed over him so long, intimate as I was with him, and possessed of his private confidence—I may say this, that he went to lengths which reduced his small purse almost to emptiness to do that which Mr. Young has been enabled to do in later years. And why did he wish to see that steamer there? Because he felt that it was just the spot at which the two great slave paths diverged. Livingstone spent a fortune on that; he never grumbled, he never complained, but he put up with the fact that it was lost; and Mr. Young, who helped him to try to put that steamer there is generous enough to admit that Livingstone's failure was his success, because he saw exactly what not to do, and going back with that experience he took with him a vessel which could be carried above the cataracts and placed there.

Now I have letters from Mr. Cotterell, who has gone there in the sincerest spirit of self-denial and Christianity to open up commerce with those natives in order to show them that the English are willing to supply those goods which hitherto have been only procurable by selling their women and children. Mr. Cotterell tells me the slave-trade all round that lake is just as virulent as ever it was in our time. The

natives say that the *Itala*, which Mr. Young took there as a missionary steamer (I have had to use that expression before) is a wasp without a sting. In other words, that she is not to be a fighting vessel.

Now, it is necessary first to say a word here. Mr. Cotterell is intimately associated with the missionaries there, and the embarrassment he felt was this, that if he once took up arms it would spread through the country that these Englishmen there were fighting men, who would go and fight all these slave dealers. I think he used a wise discretion in not doing that. But, ladies and gentlemen, these facts speak for themselves. This letter came in twenty-one days to Zanzibar, and in another twenty-one days it was in England. Mr. Young tells you he could go there with a walking-stick in his hand—that the whole of the natives up to Lake Nyassa will welcome the presence of any Englishman. Her Majesty's Government has just given permission to Consul Elton, at Mozambique, to go there with a body of Englishmen, and they look anxiously for his report. This being the case I say that the risk of establishing a competent and authoritative agent on the part of Her Majesty's Government on Lake Nyassa is not too much to be asked for—I say it is not too much to be asked for. We are apt sometimes to ask for things that are unreasonable, but in the cool, calm judgment of all of those connected with this question, who would not wish to ask any embarrassing favour of the Government just now—I say in the estimation of all of us, it is only just what might very reasonably be asked. There is no danger for a consul there, there is no danger for a Foreign Office agent, and his being there with a small vessel such as Mr. Young would instruct him how to put together at once; his presence there with the union-jack, would be a very different argument with the Portuguese, and with the Arabs on the coast, to any argument that we have put before them, and I do hope it will be done.

I found that it was utterly impossible to see these heart-rending sights and keep one's paws off these men. It cannot be done, and I do think if we put a vessel there I would say let us have half-a-dozen Jack tars on board, for all I can say is, much as I admire my friend Mr. Young, I know that every man-of-war that goes on that

coast makes just an anti-slavery meeting on board from the time she goes there until she is paid out of commission. If there ever were men who were more tender-hearted than others to these poor children and women, who are mere bags of skin and bone, they are these honest Jack tars of England; and I do not want to see them there hampered with red tape and Slave Circulars, and things of that kind, which they cannot work with. If we can get a vessel with half-a-dozen Jack tars there, and some one in whom Lord Derby can have thorough confidence—not to be too hot-headed, but a keen observer—then I say this great thing which Livingstone always worked at will be accomplished; you will at once have pressed the dagger home to the very heart of that part of the slave-trade, and from that very moment it will dwindle down as the most cursed oppression which I believe the human race ever felt; and which in our nineteenth century I say it is a shame in presence of every civilized nation that it should have any existence at all. I have much pleasure in proposing this resolution.

Rev. Dr. MULLENS: Mr. Chairman, Christian friends,—I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. Mr. Waller has so fully exhausted the reference which the resolution has in it to the Central part of Africa, that I scarcely like to add a single word to what he has said, and what we have previously heard also from Mr. Young. I cannot help, however, comparing the difficulties that still exist in regard to this great question in *Central Africa*, with the same question as it stood many years ago in relation to *South Africa*. And I think, Sir, to-day we have reason to thank God, and take courage, when we see what has taken place in South Africa only during the past two months. We cannot forget those troubles to which Dr. Kennedy has referred, those meetings that were held, that celebrated Parliamentary Committee that sat so long, and did such brave work in inquiring into the history and progress, and state of things in regard to slavery, and in regard to the liberties of the Hottentots throughout the Colonies of South Africa, and those of us who took an interest in that question forty years ago, will never forget the revelations made by that Parliamentary Committee, that showed not only how within

the bounds of the Colony, even in English days, the Hottentots had been put under the severest forms of labour laws, but should remember also that the history of all those laws, as they sprung out of the atrocious conduct of the Boers, in relation to the natives of Africa, before the English took possession of the Cape at all. No one has ever read in the history of the world a more deplorable story than the atrocious dealings of these Dutch Boers with the Bushmen of Africa, long before the English went to the Cape Colony; and the history of their conduct during, in fact, the whole of the last century. Well, Sir, the thing has gone on. It has never been perfectly cured down to the present day, and especially when the English Government made a new state of things within the bounds of the Cape Colony in 1829, when that celebrated 50th ordinance was passed that laid the foundations—a thoroughly strong and broad foundation—for securing the entire liberties of the whole Hottentot people by degrees; that work, so well begun, has been rendered more perfect, the Emancipation Act of 1834 applied to the Cape Colony as well as the West Indies. But, Sir, I say these things just to remind you that the Boers of the South African Republic, which we usually call the Transvaal Republic, fled from the Colony and carried away from thence their character and institutions with them, just because they did not want to submit to the Emancipation laws. Well, they have carried on their work since in the new lands where they have gone, and now we have been permitted to see how their system of cruelty—their severe labour laws—their putting down of the labour population, has totally collapsed. They cannot even maintain their own system in presence of the thoughts of English liberties and the privileges enjoyed by individuals in the colony of Natal and Caffre Land. In Cape Colony the Zulus, the Caffres themselves, have come to see that they have real friends in their neighbourhood, and will not allow themselves to be put down by those boasting Boers, and so threatened them that the Boer Government has entirely broken down, annexation has followed, and I thank God we may now look forward to seeing the work of emancipation thoroughly complete in all South Africa. I know Dr. Moffatt, who understands the country, now looks forward

with pleasure to the time when English rule and protection shall be felt and enjoyed all over Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope right up to the Zambesi. We know as a fact that several of the native tribes colonised through Dr. Moffatt's own society—the London Missionary Society—themselves asked the former Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, and are asking the present Governor, our noble friend, Sir Bartle Frere, that the English Government will take the land and themselves distinctly under their protection. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir, I mention these things because to me they are the most cheering proof of the work that this Society has been permitted to produce of anti-slavery feeling amongst our countrymen in South Africa, and may we not feel encouraged in the presence of the enormous difficulties now confronting us in Central Africa,—confronting us, as Mr. Waller has so clearly shown, throughout Egypt, and the extended borders of Egypt on the South towards Central Africa,—I say we may feel encouraged now in facing this great difficulty, that as God has helped us in the past, and given us such great fruit to our work, we may look forward to another and a nobler victory in the centre of Africa, and I trust we may, many of us, live to see it.

I would add to what Mr. Waller said in regard to the opening up of Central Africa that we not only have this mission on one lake which Mr. Young has been privileged to found, and in the establishment of which we thoroughly rejoice with him and our friends in Scotland; but there are many here, Sir, who may be aware that two other missionary societies are also, at the same time, being established in the very heart of Africa in the same line as the mission on Lake Nyanza, and in thorough co-operation with one another. (Cheers.) The Church Missionary Society, Sir, on a statement made by Mr. Stanley on his visit to King Mtesa, has occupied Lake Nyanza, and we have another little steamer on the Lake Nyanza, the Victoria Nyanza; we have a little missionary steamer there, and a mission will probably, in a short time, be established at the capital of the kingdom of Uganda. Then the London Missionary Society is also establishing a mission on the central lake—Lake Tanganika—and although we have not been able to send a steamer out at the outset with the mission

that has already gone there, and which, if God has prospered their way, ought to have arrived at Zanzibar only yesterday, yet, nevertheless, the Society purposes to put a missionary steamer also on Lake Tanganika, and thus we shall have a chain of missionary posts, each having its own steamer ready for this 600 miles of water-communication in the three great lakes of Central Africa. Well, Sir, we are not going to fire guns, as Mr. Young has said, and as Mr. Waller reminds us; but do not you, gentlemen, in this Anti-Slavery Society, always rejoice to get information at first-hand from the very seats where all these atrocities and wickednesses are going on? Whom have you found better friends to tell you what is going on, and to plead for the rights of these poor deserted tribes? Whom have you found to be better coadjutors with your Committee than the missionaries of many societies have long proved to be; and I think, Sir, *that* in the very first instance, is a great gain to this Anti-Slavery cause. Our missionary brethren may tell us, cordially, frankly, fully—tell us, not now nor then, but tell us this month and the next, and this year and the next, and on and on, and as Dr. Philip and his friends fought the battle of freedom in South Africa, so will other missionaries be prepared to write letters, to come home to tell the stories to Parliamentary Committees, and thus do their part in contributing to the establishment of these noble principles of freedom throughout the whole of Central Africa, as, through God's blessing, we have succeeded in doing now in the colonies of South Africa. I do not think, Sir, that we need be discouraged, as the world opens more, wickedness prospers, and grows wider, and takes a broader area for its action, as well as good; but, nevertheless, we know Who rules over all, and although the battle widens, and the efforts we make have to be increased, we know Who has said He shall reign until He has put His enemies under His feet. That is the consummation we look for. (Cheers.)

This resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel as though I am rather specially honoured, ladies and gentlemen, for this platform is so rich in advocates that it is quite a treat to introduce them to your notice. The third resolution will be moved by Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON, M.P.: Mr. Chair-

man, ladies and gentlemen,—After the very interesting speeches which you have heard, from gentlemen whose vast personal experience upon the subject upon which they have addressed you must have rivetted your attention, and your interest, I feel that there is very little indeed left for me to say; but I should not be doing justice to the occasion or to my own feelings if I did not express to you the high gratification I feel at being permitted to take part in your interesting proceedings this evening. I may say that I myself was reared in an atmosphere of slavery. I have seen it in all its horrors, although I saw it in my youth in its mildest form in our own colonies. I have seen the slave-trade as it prevailed between Africa and the West Indies and Brazil. I have seen a slave cargo landed in Cuba, and I have seen the miserable objects of human suffering and compassion in a captured slaver landed in a port of one of our own colonies. They were carried across the seas, perhaps some 500 or more, in a small vessel, some under deck, others on deck, sitting close side by side, packed, according to the common saying, like herrings in a box, sitting with their knees up to their chin, and their hands around the knees clasping them. In that condition they were kept, as I saw veritably enough and I cannot doubt from what I beheld, during the whole of that wretched middle passage. When it was attempted to urge them out of their place, and they attempted to straighten their legs and limbs, they shrieked in agony at the effort and pain which they suffered. Well, Sir, I have seen slavery, as I have told you, in its mildest form, where the slaveholder was a sort of patriarch over a large family whose physical wants no doubt to some extent he took under his care; but all I can say is that the impression made upon my mind in my youth, and the recollection that has been planted there ever since, is that it is an accursed, hideous sin. I can make no terms with slavery. ("No, no.") The gallant gentleman told you that many of his statements with regard to Africa have been denied. I have no doubt the statements I have made to you now of what I have seen with my own eyes, will be denied also by some people; but I do not hesitate to tell you, from what I have seen of the responsible powers of the slave-owner, an otherwise good and kind man; but the abuses

incident to the responsible powers of one human being over another, are an evil so great that I do not know to whom the curse is greater, whether to the suffering victim or to the slave-owner. Slavery taints the whole moral atmosphere. It numbs and deadens the moral sense, and so far from developing those ennobling sentiments in man which it is the object of civilisation to promote, why it crushes, and it dwarfs them into nothing. I have seen, as I have told you, kind-hearted, and otherwise just and kind, men and women behave in a way to their slaves that one shrinks with horror from contemplating. I have seen that in a state of civilised society under British rule, and we know perfectly well what takes place under other social systems not inspired or animated by the ennobling instincts of our institutions, or the animating influence of a quickening and elevating religion.

Now, Sir, various means have been suggested by previous speakers for putting an end to the slave-trade. No doubt, speaking from their own practice and personal experience, these gentlemen are correct in what they tell you as to the means which they believe would conduce to the stamping-out of slavery in Central Africa. But there are other means. I believe you may stop the supply on the one hand, but my firm belief is that the true mode of stopping the supply is to crush out the demand. As long as there is demand there will be supply. Flatter yourselves as you please, make what efforts you like, unless you begin at the centre and root of the system, you will not put an end to it. If you have a Khedive of Egypt, a so-called enlightened ruler, who gives a firman or an authority to an English officer to go and rule over, with almost unlimited powers, a great province of his State, and so put down slavery there, if you have a ruler doing that with one hand, while with the other he lays hold upon 300 miserable women and sells them into slavery from the harem of a deposed minister, sells them into slavery into Constantinople, &c.; if you find his own harem is filled with these slave wives, and that there is a social state in that country which permits and encourages the system, I say my hopes are not very sanguine as to the ultimate extinction of slavery in Central Africa. But, Sir, the resolution which has been placed in my hand, presents one of those practical

means which I believe among others will conduce to the end. One of the speakers—I forget which it was—in an interesting speech, told you of the means of teaching these people habits of industry, and of promoting commerce. Up to the present time their only commerce has been in the sale of their fellow-beings. They have had no means of supplying any of their needs in the way of clothing, and the ornaments they use in savage life, except by the sale of human beings. Teaching these people that they are the inhabitants of a country that is rich, fertile, and that has resources; teaching them, through the civilizing influence of our missionaries—and I have seen their civilizing influence among the negroes of the West—teaching them habits of industry, and that it is more profitable to them, and more conducive to their well-being, and their comfort to work and toil, and till the ground, to bring forth these products and sell them for the wants they wish to have supplied;—I say, substitute this method, and you thereby promote a system which will assist in the suppression of the slave-trade. But, then, Sir, you want an outlet for the productions of these countries, and it is to that object that this resolution which I have to propose, points. The resolution is:—“That, as one important means of giving effect to the foregoing resolution, this meeting would request Her Majesty’s Government to exert their utmost influence during the negotiations for peace, said to be proceeding between Egypt and Abyssinia, to secure for the latter country a port of *its own* on the Red Sea, for an outlet of its productions, inasmuch as the possession of a suitable port would, in the opinion of those best informed on the subject, speedily ensure an extensive legitimate trade, which would there check and supersede the traffic in slaves.”

I believe that it would be checked, and that this would ultimately supersede the traffic in slaves, because you would have taught the people habits of industry, you would have taught them the benefits of a legitimate commerce, and they would, like other persons, come to find out the superior comforts which they would enjoy under such a condition as that. Reference has been made to the work of the missionaries. I have seen the work of missionaries amongst slaves in the West Indies, and I

can testify from my own experience what a blessed influence their work has upon them. I believe that, by sending out active, energetic, and at the same time judicious men, you will save these unfortunate people; you can rule them, not by terror, but you may rule and govern them like children, through kindness and meekness, and gentle treatment. That has been my observation and experience of the treatment of slaves in the West Indies through the influence and under the teachings of the missionaries. Now it remains only for me to thank you for your kind attention to the few remarks I have made to you in proposing to you the resolution I have just read.

The CHAIRMAN: This resolution is to be seconded by Edmund Sturge.

Mr. EDMUND STURGE: After the eloquent manner—

The CHAIRMAN: Allow me to say, I introduce my friend as one of those who—while we are sleeping, is working, and doing that work which we glory in being done, although not doing it ourselves. I do hope he will not hesitate to speak as well as to work.

Mr. EDMUND STURGE: I was going to remark, that after the eloquent manner in which Serjeant Simon has addressed the meeting in proposing that resolution, I will not trouble you with any general remarks of my own; but the importance of a port in the southern end of the Red Sea has been one that has been increasingly obvious to the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society. During the last two years the Khedive of Egypt has thrown every obstacle in the way of British intercourse and the calling of British steamers at the ports of the Red Sea; for the obvious reason that wherever British commerce has been able to obtain any hold, in those parts there has arisen a vast amount of information respecting the slave-trade which has been most unwelcome to the Egyptian Government. So great have they deemed the importance of putting a stop to the acquisition of such information, that about twelve months ago the Egyptian Government threw such obstacles in the way of the British India Steam Navigation Company's steamers calling at the ports of the Red Sea, that they have found it absolutely necessary in defence of their own interests to abandon that part of their business.

The recent accounts we have had from Abyssinia have been of a most interesting character. The country and the people bear a strong resemblance in many respects (both in the physical conformation of the country and in the brave character of its people) to the Switzerland of Europe. We have all heard how, with remarkable energy, and under the most extraordinary disadvantages, they have repelled successfully the whole force of the Egyptian invasion, and at the present moment the Egyptians are only holding the port of Massowah in self-defence.

If England (as those who have read Mons. Cosson's work, which has been recently published, will observe, from his description of what passed in his long interview with the King of Abyssinia)—if England will co-operate, he is quite ready to join in the suppression of the slave-trade. He is most anxious to get a port in the Red Sea (which he has not at present), for the extension of commerce; and the appointment of a British Consul to such a port would afford facilities for action, put a check on the slave-trade in the southern end of the Red Sea which does not exist at present, and would probably be the prelude to such an extension of commerce, that the instance given by Mr. Waller, in the case of India-rubber, would be but a very minute and a very small proportion of it. From all the accounts that travellers give us, the productiveness of Abyssinia would be almost unbounded. One can well understand how a country—isolated like that, shut in by a hostile population, and having no communication with the outer world—must continue in a state of semi-barbarism such as exists at present.

There is this interesting feature in connection with Abyssinia that, although the Christianity of the country is of a degraded type, yet still they do inherit traditions from the early establishment of Christendom, I believe in the time of Ignatius, about the 4th century; and they have a literature of their own, and these things form the basis evidently of a future which, one day or other, we may hope to see realised. (Cheers).

The resolution was put and carried.

The Chairman then called up F. W. Chesson, Esq., Secretary of the Aborigines Society, to move the next resolution.

Mr. CHESSEON: Mr. Chairman, ladies and

gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution: "That, in view of the cruelties and abuses which of late years have proved inseparable from coolie immigration, this meeting would call upon Her Majesty's Government to revert to the principles laid down by Her Majesty's Order in Council of 1838, and place coolie immigration on the same footing as that occupied by emigration from the British Isles."

It seems to me, Sir, that at the outset of this inquiry there is one fact which stands pre-eminently before us, a fact which amply justifies the resolution which I have just moved. During the last six or seven years there have been a succession of inquiries into the abuses of the coolie system. In the first instance reports reached us from the colony of British Guiana which led Lord Kimberley, who was the Colonial Minister of that day, to send a Commission of Inquiry to that portion of the West Indies, and, as many of our friends present will remember, the result of that inquiry disclosed a state of things full of the most intolerable cruelty and oppression. Hardly had we time to digest the contents of the report of the British Guiana Commission, when statements were made by a Frenchman resident in the colony of Mauritius of a still more shocking and deplorable character, and it became the duty of the British Government to send out another Commission of Inquiry, which occupied two years in its investigation of the labour system of the Mauritius. Then you remember the Chinese Government found it necessary to dispatch a Commission to the Island of Cuba, and also to the republic of Peru; and some of us a few months ago were greatly shocked by the terrible nature of the revelations which were published in the Report of the Commission appointed by the Chinese Government. Still more recently our own Government have found it necessary to make the most urgent representations to the Government of France with reference to the treatment of Indian labourers in the Island of Réunion, and at this instant a joint commission representing the two nations is engaged in investigating the mal-treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects who reside in that country; and even yet more recently, in consequence of the great mortality existing among the Indian labourers whom we have allowed to be sent to the French colony of

Cayenne or French Guana, owing to the great mortality which exists amongst those labourers, most of whom are employed in the gold mining districts, and our India Office has been compelled to make representations of so urgent a character to the Imperial Government that, during the last four or five months, emigration from India to French Guana, has been absolutely stopped. (Hear, hear.) Well, it seems to me a system which imposes upon the authorities of this country the responsibility of making these painful and tedious and costly inquiries—inquiries so numerous that as soon as one is completed another has to be commenced—is, by the very nature of that fact, discredited as a system which it is impossible permanently to maintain. (Hear, hear.)

Well, now let me attempt, for a moment, to give a definition of coolie labour. It appears to me that coolie labour is a system which, while it does not use the nomenclature of slavery, and while it limits the period of servitude in each case to six years, is yet based upon that principle of coercion which lies at the root of all slavery; and I believe that no human being could read, as I have read the Report of the Commissioners sent out from this country by our Government—Commissioners who were aided by the brother of Sir Bartle Frere—without coming to the conclusion that even that modified system of compulsory servitude which exists in the colony of Mauritius cannot be maintained without occasioning the greatest possible amount of cruelty and oppression. And the proof of that, or one evidence of it, lies in this fact. It must be known to every one here that that inquiry originated in the passing of certain Vagrant Laws (as they were called) in the Colony of Mauritius, and having paid some attention to the subject I am prepared to affirm that those laws were passed for the express purpose of inducing, or, I should rather say, of forcing, the time-expired emigrants—that is to say, those emigrants who had fulfilled their contracts—of forcing them back into the ranks from which they had only recently emerged; that is to say, their life was made absolutely intolerable to them. They could not move from one parish to another without carrying with them a pass; they could not move from one parish to another without carrying on their

person the evidence of their identity in the shape of a photograph; and it is a fact brought to light by the inquiry of the Commissioners that not less a sum than £23,000 was paid to a photographer in the Mauritius as his bill for these photographs during the period of three years; and the whole of this vast amount had to be paid, not by the colony—not by the planters—but by these unfortunate coolie labourers. Well, I will say nothing about the cases of intolerable hardship or oppression which the Report of the Commissioners discloses. It may be said that they are simply individual cases, and ought to be regarded therefore as exceptional; but I am willing to stake the issue as between ourselves and the planters of Mauritius, upon the 4068th paragraph of the Commissioners' Report, which says: "We agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. De Plevitz, in the 9th paragraph of his pamphlet, which, while admitting fair and just treatment of immigrants on some estates he nevertheless asserts that when they fall into the hands of an unscrupulous proprietor they are virtually at his mercy, and he pays them very nearly what he chooses." Now that endorsement by the Commissioners of Mr. De Plevitz's statement seems to me to involve absolute condemnation of the coolie system. Because laws are made not for well-doers, but for wrong-doers, not for the just but for the unjust, and the real test of the value of these laws in the Mauritius, so far as affording protection to the coolies is concerned, is as to whether they really do protect the coolies when they fall into the hands of unscrupulous, mercenary, or cruel proprietors. Well, then, but it is sometimes said—and this is a very favourite argument with persons in this country (members of the West India Committee and others)—it is said coolie immigration confers great moral benefits upon the coolies. It is said that they are greatly elevated by being moved from India, where a certain state of barbarism still exists, to the elevating and refining influence of a British Colony. But what do the Commissioners say upon this point? They say, whatever may be the practice among some few of the tribes in different parts of India, we are not aware of any district in India where the natives are so debased as is shown to be the state of the Indian immigrants in this colony. Then, we are told

again, of the benevolence of individual planters. Dr. Deshetton, who was examined before the Commissioners, in his evidence, says that, "to the honour of the colony, the wives of the greatest landowners do not disdain to give their personal care to the sick women and children on the estates." What do the Commissioners say to this? These Commissioners, be it remembered, visited every estate in the colony of Mauritius—what is their comment upon this high-flown statement of the worthy physician? They declare that "our own inquiries have satisfied us that an Indian camp is considered a place into which a lady of Mauritius ought on no account to enter. Well, if we go to the neighbouring colony of Réunion, we find exactly the same state of things. I am afraid that that state of things is even worse, because, I am sorry to say, the French Colonial Office is not able to exercise nearly the same amount of direct control or supervision over its colonies as is exercised by our own Colonial Department. By way of illustrating the condition of the coolies in Réunion I find in the last Report which our Government has published from the British Consul in that colony—a Report which I think bears the date of 1868—I find that there were in that year 29,763 cases of punishment; that is to say, punishment inflicted by the judicial authorities of the island upon the coolie labourers. Of course, an enormous number like that—29,763—implies a condition of things in which the law is simply a terror to the weak, to the unfortunate, and to the miserable. I was reading the other day in one of the sermons delivered by Father Lacordaire, of Notre Dame, the best part of a generation ago, a sentence which seemed to me to be exactly applicable to what is now being brought to light, not only in these French Colonies, but, I am afraid, also in some of our own. Father Lacordaire said: "Let Frenchmen descend a few degrees of latitude, and be transported under a hotter sun, their philanthropy vanishes at the door of a sugar manufactory." Now, I am afraid this is as true of English planters as of French planters. Not that I think English planters are worse than the great majority of their own countrymen, but it is fatal to a man's own moral sense to be placed deliberately in a position where his interests are necessarily enlisted on the side of injustice or oppression, and

the conclusion to which my investigation of this subject leads me is this, that the only chance of just dealing and of equitable treatment, so far as the coloured races subject to the British Crown are concerned, lies in our establishing the system of labour among them exclusively upon the principle of absolute personal freedom. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hewitt, of Jamaica, will second the resolution.

The Rev. EDWARD HEWITT: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—It would be hardly proper in me to detain you at this late period of the meeting, otherwise I should like to have said a few words in regard to the system of coolie immigration as it affects Jamaica. Serjeant Simon gives us some of his experience in regard to slavery and the slave-trade in Jamaica. I could, if time allowed, give you some of my own experience in regard to freedom in Jamaica. Just this one fact in regard to the results of freedom I will mention to you and pass on. In 1838, when there were 400,000 slaves set free in Jamaica, there was not one amongst them that had an acre of land. At the present moment there are between 70,000 and 80,000 freeholders belonging to the black people, and those freeholds contain some 400,000 acres of land that have been fairly bought and paid for, and are now occupied and cultivated to a very large extent by those whom you made free by your liberality so many years ago. (Cheers.) In regard to this question of coolie labour, it would be almost necessary to go back to 1838 in order to thoroughly understand it. When the British Government made the slaves free the planters were so foolish and so weak that they drove the people who had been their slaves from the estates where they had been born, wholesale; they drove them back into the mountains; they cut down their bread fruit trees; they destroyed their cottages; they uprooted their provision grounds until it was imperatively necessary that the people should go somewhere for the purpose of providing themselves with the means of living; and they very soon, as I have already told you, found land in the mountains; and in hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands they went up into the mountains, and hence the difficulty of the planters in regard to labour. I am acquainted with a good many sugar estates in Jamaica, and yet on the north side of

the Island I know one where a different system to that which I have mentioned has been pursued. I may mention the name of the estate; it is Copse estate, in the parish of Hanover. On that estate the people were induced to remain (they were not driven off) to the present day, or rather to the time I left the Island, some six or seven months ago, the people remained on the estate to the number of 200; the old people are there, and the young people are there. There are no coolies there; and it is now one of the most flourishing estates on the north side of the Island; and so I believe it would have been with almost all the sugar estates in Jamaica if the planters had not been so foolishly mad and weak. I beg their pardon for using such language, but if they had not acted so improperly the people would have remained with them, would have worked for them, and they need not have sent across the water so great a distance, and at such an expense, in order to obtain coolie labourers.

Well, now Sir, we have got in the Island of Jamaica some 14,000 coolies, and we have got into debt some £600,000 of money. Some persons will say: "But surely the planters are going to pay this?" There is £450,000 that the people themselves, who are driven from the estates, are being made to pay for in the proportion that they pay to the general revenue of the country. There is the £150,000, making up the £600,000 I mentioned just now, which has been created lately, and which forms a new debt, and which everybody knows we shall have to pay—all of us.

I say, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that so far as the labour population of Jamaica is concerned, it is a hard and a cruel case that they should be made to pay to bring into the country a class of persons to take the bread out of their own mouths. It is unjust. It is cruel in the extreme; and I am here this evening for the purpose of thanking the Anti-Slavery Society for the efforts they have recently made for the purpose of bringing this iniquitous system to an end, as I hope may be the case in regard to Jamaica. I thank the Society on behalf of those with whom I have been associated in Jamaica for the last thirty-five years. You have served the cause, so far as the people there are concerned, very nobly, and you will still serve their cause by using

your efforts for the purpose of bringing to an end this system of coolie immigration. It is a wide and large subject; I am afraid to enter upon it. Excuse me for detaining you so long. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was put and carried.

J. G. ALEXANDER, Esq. : Ladies and gentlemen,—I have a very pleasant duty to perform, that of proposing that the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Henry Pease, Esq., for his kindness in presiding on the present occasion.

It is a very pleasant duty to have to propose a vote of thanks to one whom one loves and honours and esteems so much as our friend in the chair. I should just like to say one word; I am not going to make a speech at this time of the evening, certainly, but I should like to say one word in explanation of my position here—(I could not make a speech if I wished to, because I am only just learning the subject)—and the reason why I have joined the Anti-Slavery Society; it is this, an appeal was made to us at the Society of Friends a year ago, for some young men to come forward and join with the veterans of the cause, and some of whom have told you this evening that they remember the time when the great battle for emancipation was fought and won in this country years before some of us were born. Well, I felt that that was something proper, and that there should be some young ones to take up the cause, and fill up the places of these grey-haired men, among whom I find myself sitting this evening, and I feel sure of this, that there are many among those of us who do not remember, but have only read about, the struggles of the last generation, many who would be ready to come forward, if cause were to arise, and we saw that it was necessary to come to the help of those who are holding up the standard. We (the young men) would come and prove ourselves not unworthy successors, I hope, of those whose name we bear.

I speak especially for the young men of the Society of Friends—the Society which has always taken the lead in this good work—but I have no doubt the same is true of the young men of the country at large who have its welfare at heart. . . It is only for this pleasant duty that I have to appear before you this evening; I believe the youth of the country will be ready to rise to the responsibility and duty, and buckle on the armour when the occasion requires, in the great Anti-Slavery cause.

Mr. BUZACOTT: I beg to second that resolution, which I do very heartily indeed. In the name of the Committee I thank Mr. Pease for having come to our help. The name of Pease is well known in Anti-Slavery history, and our friend stands as high as any other who bore that name.

I have great pleasure in seconding that resolution. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Thanks, ladies and gentlemen, are not due to me, but I think they are due to those gentlemen who have presented us with so very many excellent observations this evening, and to the Committee. I feel grateful to both of them, and I thank you.

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